1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonis RG4

175 At the end of their independence period[1] the Estonians were the cultural leaders among the Balto-Finnic peoples. At this time their most dangerous enemy was the Russians, who often made raids into eastern Estonia. Russian chronicles mention the raid of their own Kniaz Yaroslav in 1030 into Estonian territory and the founding of the stronghold Yuryev on the site of present Tartu.

The favorable geographical position of the people on the southeastern shores of the Baltic has had its disadvantages: it has been too hard for the eastern and western neighbors to resist the temptation to invade this territory. German expansion to the Baltic grew more dangerous at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. German merchants from Port Lübeck had established themselves on the Livish coast by the

[1] [i.e. ca. 1200 A.D. - -14- Analyst]

175 last quarter of the twelfth century. Soon followed
[297] Catholic monks as missionaries. When peaceful means of conversion had no notable success, stronger methods were used, and in three decades (1199-1229) Bishop Albert had, with the support of the Roman Catholic Church and the various German states, converted the Baltic peoples to Christianity and, at the same time, had gone a long way toward subjugating them by fire and sword to the rule of the German knights.
[34] In 1200 he arrived with a great force of crusaders at the mouth of the Daugava River, where he founded the next year the city of Riga and, in a short time, had subjugated the Livonians and Latvians. The Order of Knights, called "Brothers of the Sword," was also established.

The conquest of the Estonians proved to be more difficult. Although the German knights

•175 were far superior in equipment, the Estonians, nevertheless, experienced also in their warfare against the Russians, fought many victorious battles. Their War of Independence lasted from 1208 to 1227, but the battle in September, 1217, in which Limbitu, the outstanding elder of Sakala (Viljandimaa), was killed decided the fate of central and western Estonia. The eastern part and the islands remained free until the Danish King Waldemar II came to Bishop Albert's assistance and conquered them. He landed at the [361] [103] present site of Tallinn in 1219 and founded this city, whose name means Taani linn 'Danish city.' Saaremaa, the last free province of Estonia, fell in 1227, thus deciding the fate of all the Estonians for centuries.

Estonia under the reign of Denmark and the

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Estonia under the reign of Denmark and the

• 175 Order. After the end of the ancient War of Independence, Estonia was divided between several competing powers: the Catholic bishops, the Order of the Brothers of the Sword (which in 1237 became the Order of Teutonic Knights, returned from Palestine), and Denmark. The strongest of these was the Order. The Germans [101] called all of the new colony Livonia. Historians call medieval Livonia "Old Livonia" in order to differentiate between it and the later governments of Livonia under Swedish and Russian rule, which was much smaller, comprising southern Estonia and northern Latvia. Northern Estonia (Harjumaa and Virumaa) was under Denmark, and the western and cental part of continental Estonia (Viljandimaa and Järvamaa) was governed by the Teutonic Order whose seat was in Eastern Prussia. The Bishop of Tartu governed present-

175 day Tartumaa, Valgamaa and Võrumaa, while Läänemaa and the islands belonged to another bishop. The Bishop of Tallinn had no land, but under his spiritual influence were Harjumaa, Virumaa and Järvamaa. The feudal system was now introduced into Old Livonia and the land was given to German and Danish vassals who, for the most part, were uneducated adventurers. The Estonian peasants were now left with practically no land and they were plagued with high taxes, labor obligations and military duties. The situation in northern Estonia under Danish rule was so bad that in Harjumaa the suffering Estonians rose in a rebellion in April, 1343, called St. George's Night Revolt, which spread throughout Estonian territory. The casualties suffered in suppressing this revolt forced Denmark to sell northern Estonia in 1346 to the Teutonic

•175 Order. Now the Germans were sole rulers of the Estonians and revolt was useless. By the sixteenth century complete serfdom had been forced upon the people and the estate owners were made sole owners, legislators and judges over their peasants. A medieval chronicler writes of Old Livonia that it had become "hell for the peasants, paradise for the clergy, and a gold mine for the nobility and merchants."

But the power of the Teutonic Order over Old Livonia was now beginning to weaken. The larger cities of Riga, Tallinn, Tartu and Pärnu, all of which belonged to the powerful Hansa League, had grown wealthy through trade between Russia and Western Europe, and the rivalry between the cities and the Order, which was eager to extend its power over the cities also, so weakened the German administration

175 of Old Livonia that it was unable to defend the country against invaders. The reformation, which began in Estonia in 1523, also served to weaken the influence of the Catholic bishops and the Order. When Czar Ivan the Terrible initiated the Russian-Livonian War (1558-1583), the deteriorating confederacy of the Baltic failed to provide adequate protection for this country and, in 1562, the rule of the Teutonic Order in Old Livonia had ended.

But the Russians were not successful either. They were driven out of this area by the three powers who finally divided up the country: Sweden, which became ruler of northern Estonia and Tallinn; Denmark, which again took over western Estonia and the islands; and Poland, which became ruler over southern Estonia (Pärnumaa, Viljandimaa and Tartumaa) and

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northern Latvia. The country was long devastated by continuous war, suffering particularly under the ever-present dread of the Russians.

Swedish rule in Estonia. By the Treaty of Altmarck in 1629 King Gustav II Adolf was able to wrest from Poland the Livonian area and to make Sweden absolute ruler of the continental Estonian territory. In 1645 Sweden gained the Estonian islands also, after which followed a long period of peace which has frequently been termed "the good old Swedish times."

King Carl XI carried out what has been called "the great reduction of estates" by which many large estates were confiscated by the state--in Livonia five-sixths of the arable land--and the situation of the peasants was considerably improved. In addition, the Swedish government

175 did much to promote educational opportunities for peasants as well as nobles, and made a great effort to promote the religious life in Estonia.

The reforms of Carl XI, and especially the reduction of estates, made enemies for the Swedes of the Baltic nobility, at whose instigation a coalition between Russia, Poland and Demark was created for the purpose of conquering the Baltic region. In the resulting Great Northern War (1700-1721) Czar Peter I was successful against the young Swedish King Carl XII, although Poland was defeated. The Baltic nobility welcomed the new ruler and the old feudal system was re-established. After the Peace of Nystad (Uusikaupunki) in 1721 Czar Peter I returned to the German gentry the estates and the privileges which they had had in pre-Swedish times.

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175 Estonia under Russian Czars. Although Estonia and Livonia were now nominally Russian governed, the actual and all-powerful ruler of these provinces was the German nobility. The country was badly devastated by the long war and deportations, and the population was pitifully diminished. For those peasants who had survived the horrors of the war, serfdom now became unbearable. But when Czarina Catharina II tried to improve their lot, she met the almost unanimous resistance of the nobles. At the end of the eighteenth century the liberal ideas of Western Europe had reached the Baltic provinces and some of the nobles favored them, especially the younger ones who had studied abroad. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, during the reign of Alexander I, liberalism in Russia had gained ascendancy and

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agrarian reforms were planned to prevent further uprisings such as occurred in northern Estonia, where the position of the peasants had remained considerably worse than in other areas. After certain reform legislation had been passed, making the position of the peasants approximately equivalent to their position in Swedish times, the income of the estate owners had remarkably diminished. In order to improve their lot, the Baltic nobility then recommended the liberation of the peasants from serfdom on the condition that the land belong entirely to the nobility. In 1816 the peasants in Estonia were liberated, and, in Livonia, in 1819. They were now free to rent the land and to pay this rental with their labor. Until 1860 this labor slavery existed. To further add to the woes of the landless, the nobility imposed restrictions upon residence

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changes. This "liberation" by no means improved the life of the peasants and, as a result, uprisings occurred in the 1840's in Livonia, where a widespread change to the Greek Catholic faith was also taking place in the hope that the priests would protect the peasants against the land owners.

By now the estates were undergoing an economic crisis and new agricultural methods were being introduced which demanded more capital and more manpower. As a consequence, the estate owners were forced to suggest new agrarian legislation providing the peasants ownership of a certain part of the land, the right to pay rent in money, and the right to buy land titles. Czar Alexander II enacted the laws for Estonia in 1856 and for Livonia in 1860. By 1863 all change of residence restrictions had

175 423 been abolished. Now the Estonian peasant was a free man and many peasants immediately rushed to settle in the cities. During the two decades which followed (1860-1880), called the National Awakening, the Estonian people grew into a self-conscious nation.

175 565 [423] The National Awakening and post-Awakening period. The main task which took the lion's share of energy was the buying up of land titles.[1] This was slow in northern Estonia, but in southern and central Estonia, where soil was more fertile, it was carried out more rapidly. Soon a wealthy and independent class of Estonian farmers, able to send their children to city schools and universities, grew up. This was the beginning of the Estonian educated class in the cities, from which came outstanding leaders in the national movement. As a result of

[1] [for background, see cat. 116, pp. 23-26 -- Analyst]

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the rapid improvement of economic conditions and the industrialization of the growing cities, certain social differentiations now took place. Economically independent were the farmers, who had bought farm titles, and the middle class in the cities, the intellectuals, educators, and craftsmen. Less fortunate, however, were the industrial employees in the cities, and, in the country, the landless agricultural workers.

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The most active participants in the idealistic-romantic National Awakening were the intelligentsia, at the beginning mainly school teachers, and the land-owning peasantry. There were several centers of this movement, the most important being in southern Estonia, in Viljandimaa, and later in Tartu. In St. Petersburg was an enthusiastic group of intellectuals, called the Patriots of St. Petersburg, with Professor

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175 814 Köhler as their leader. Originally the aims of this movement were the promotion of education and national culture in the fields of language, history and folklore. The publication of the national epic Kalevipoeg (1857-61) led to an enthusiastic recording of Estonian folklore, which developed under the direction of the Estonian pastor, Dr. Jakob Hurt, into a large-scale movement, so that during the next several decades rich and valuable collections were preserved. [545] The first national Singing Festival in 1869 at Tartu was the first demonstration of a free people and was attended by representatives from Finland and Hungary; it was a tremendous influence to be felt long afterwards, and singing festivals became a national tradition. 175 871 To promote education in the native tongue the Alexander School Committee was established

175 [87] which organized a nation wide collection of money for the establishment of an Estonian gymnasium to be named after Czar Alexander I. Response to this was amazing--to the amount of 100,000 [814] gold rubles. The Society of Estonian Literary Men was founded in 1872 for the promotion of Estonian literature, language and history. [517] Several other societies also were founded, such as the Theater Society "Vanemuine" at Tartu, many farmers' societies and local music and theater groups.

175 186 The National Awakening[1] took a political turn when energetic Carl R. Jakobson arose to leadership and started his weekly Sakala. Jakobson, a daring and able politician, launched a vigorous campaign against the "number one enemy of the Estonian people": the Baltic German nobility. He demanded for the Estonians

[1] [For background see -29- cat. 116, pp. 26-29--Analyst]

175 equal rights with the German nobility in the self-
186 government of the country, at the same time attempting to establish friendly relations with the Russian government in the hope of winning its support. But these efforts were doomed to failure for the Russians and the Germans had already initiated a suffocation campaign against the Baltic national movements.

175 The decade of the 1880 s was a period of deep
177 disillusionment for the Estonians after the hopeful time of the Awakening. The Slavophiles were quite influential, their aim being to Russianize the border provinces of the Russian Empire. This was not an easy task, since the National Awakening had made the people conscious of their heritage and proud of their culture. Illiteracy, for example, had been practically abolished in Estonia during this time

175 177 but now Russification was carefully forced upon the population, especially in connection with the schools, courts, and the police system. Russian became the language taught in the schools, and those teachers who spoke no Russian were often replaced by native Russians. Russian clerks and officials were imported to Estonia. The leaders of this Russification movement were the special governors in Estonia and Livonia, while local government remained in the hands of the German nobles. In order to prevent native leaders from rising, the usual policy was to send those Estonians with a university education to Russia rather than to give them positions in their homeland.

175 668 The two prominent Estonian leaders of the period, Jakob Hurt and C. R. Jakobson, instead of uniting in the struggle for national unity

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668 clashed openly over Jakobson's struggle with the German nobles and, at the same time, the German clergy, and two factions grew up around these two men. After the death of Jakobson in 1882, his party openly stood for Russification--something Jakobson himself would never have [814] condoned. As a result of the party squabble, the Society of Estonian Literary Men[1] failed and was disbanded.

Nevertheless, the Estonians continued to grow numerically and economically. By the end of the century, they had started to recover from the paralysis of Russification. Courageous young leaders appeared in the two most important centers of public life. At Tartu, Jaan Tõnisson, a lawyer, became the editor of the daily Postimees (Postman) in 1896, which stood for Estonian nationalism. Tõnisson became the

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 29--Analyst]

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

175 668 leader of the liberal national movement in southern Estonia, fighting against the privileges of the German nobility. More radical was the other daily, Teataja (Announcer) at Tallinn, the editor of which became, in 1901, Konstantin Päts, also a lawyer, and later President of the Estonian Republic. A great achievement for K. Päts and the Teataja group was the victory of the Estonians in the municipal elections at Tallinn in 1904, when Jaan Poska was elected mayor and took over the rule of the municipality from the Germans.

175 669 The revolutions of 1905 and 1917. After the unpopular Russo-Japanese War in which Russia was defeated, revolts broke out all over the Russian Empire and reached even to the Baltic. While the revolution of 1905 in Russia proper

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was a movement against the czarist regime, in Estonia it was mainly directed against the land-owning German nobility. Estates were burned and barons were assassinated. The workers, with the full support of all classes of people, especially the intelligentsia, organized strikes at Tallinn, demanding an Estonian democratic republic. Even by the time of this revolution, there was a violent clash between the radical socialistic and the more moderate national elements in Estonia. To suppress the revolution, the czarist government sent "punishment details" of Russian soldiers to Estonia, whose leaders belonged mostly to the local nobility. They soon liquidated the revolt; many innocent people were sentenced to death and many were sent to Siberia for long-term imprisonment. A great number of the national leaders succeeded in escaping

1:Indiana U. S-4, 5(1954-5)1955 RG4 Estonia RG4

175 669 and were sentenced to death in absentia. They had to remain abroad until the revolution of 1917.

175 178 Despite all the post-revolutionary political reaction, a greater degree of liberalism was allowed in cultural life. Economically, the period between the revolutions meant great progress. Estonian private schools were founded, adult educational societies were very active, large theaters were built: "Vanemuine" at Tartu, "Estonia" at Tallinn, and "Endla" at Pärnu. The Estonian Literary Society was founded for the promotion of all aspects of cultural life, and a number of institutions were begun: the Estonian National Museum, which collected many valuable items of Estonian material cultural; and many co-operative societies and farmers' societies which helped the farmers to become better acquainted with modern

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175 methods and equipment in agriculture and the
178 dairy industry. This development was curtailed to a great extent by the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

175 Soon after the revolution, the Russian Provi-
642 sional Government, Headed by A. F. Kerensky, approved the bill presented by the Estonian leaders to unite the governments of Estonia and Livonia into one administrative unit and appointed as Commissar of united Estonia Jaan Poska, hitherto mayor of Tallinn. The Estonian Diet was elected on the basis of the general franchise and met first on July 1, 1917, in Tallinn. This Diet formed a democratic government, with K. Päts as President. Now, after many centuries, Estonia was governed by its own people.

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The birth of independence and the War of Liberation. The next important step was the organization of the Estonian soldiers who had fought in the Russian Army into Estonian national units. Response to the proclamation of Estonian authorities was enthusiastic and many of the over 100,000 Estonians in the Russian armed forces returned home and joined the Estonian army, among them many high officers, although in many Russian units the Estonians were not granted permission to leave. When in St. Petersburg the Russian Provisional Government was overthrown by the Bolsheviks on November 8, 1917, the Estonian Bolsheviks followed the same pattern and the War Revolutionary Committee, headed by V. Kingissepp, took over from Poska the Commissariat of Estonia, and the councils of workers and soldiers began taking

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1/1 [After election of Estonian Dist. 37, July 1917, see cat. 116, pp. 36-- Analyst]

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over the governmental institutions. In the midst of this tumult, the Estonian Diet met and proclaimed itself on November 28, 1917, the supreme power in the country until the elections of the Constituent Assembly, and delegated its powers to the Council of Elders, which continued to work for the independence of Estonia. After preparing the Manifest of Estonian Independence, February 24, 1918, this body proclaimed Estonia an independent democratic republic, delegating at the same time all power to the Estonian Rescue Committee consisting of K. Päts, Jüri Vilms and K. Konik, which formed the first Estonian Provisional Government, with Päts as premier. Estonian independence was proclaimed at Tallinn immediately after the Bolsheviks had left the city and before the German troops arrived. The German occupation

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The German occupation
175 of Estonia had been foreseen in the Treaty of
648 Brest-Litovsk, March 3, 1918, between Russia and Germany; furthermore, the Baltic German nobles had also petitioned Germany to occupy Estonia. Some Estonian leaders escaped abroad and continued to work for recognition of Estonian independence, among them their leader Jaan Tõnisson. In May, 1918, Estonian independence was recognized by Great Britain, France, and Italy.

175 The German occupation authorities ignored
721 the declared independence of Estonia and its
[727] Provisional Government and proceeded to drain the country's economic resources. Their plans to include Estonia in a Baltic Duchy, along with Latvia and Prussia, however, did not succeed. After Germany's defeat in 1918, the Estonian Provisional Government openly resumed

175 721 operation on November 11, 1918. But now the Red Army of Russia decided that the time was ripe to attack Estonia.

175 721 Estonia's war with Soviet Russia, from November 28, 1918, to January 3, 1920, including the war with the German Landeswehr has been called the War of Liberation. Because the Estonian army had been dispersed and many leaders arrested as a result of the recent occupational policies, the Red Army was able to make great headway at the beginning of the war. [701] The morale of the Estonians was low at first, but with the return of Colonel Johan Laidoner from Russia and the assistance of the British fleet, hope was revived. On December 23rd, the Provisional Government appointed Laidoner commander-in-chief of the armed forces and Admiral Juhan Pitka commander of the navy.

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Soon two captured Russian warships were delivered to the Estonians by the British fleet; a Finnish volunteer regiment, "The Sons of the North," arrived; and volunteer companies from Sweden and Denmark began to appear in Estonia. Now the Estonians changed from a defensive to an offensive war, more and more youths answered the call to battle, and under Majoy-General Tõnisson, Narva and North Estonia were freed. On January 14, 1919, Tartu was liberated. Advancement on the southern front was slower but steady, and on February 24, 1919, the first anniversary of the Estonian Republic, the commander-in-chief was able to announce that the entire Estonian territory was freed of the enemy. To assure their future independence, the Estonians felt compelled to carry the war on into Latvian territory. This offensive was

175 721 successfully carried out and on June 5, 1919, the Red Army was driven from northern Latvia.

But in this same month the Estonian troops in Latvia were confronted with a new enemy: General von der Goltz and his Iron Division and "Landeswehr," consisting of Baltic German volunteers. Decisive battles with the Landeswehr were fought on June 20-23 at Võnnu-Romeburg under the command of Major-General R. Põdder. With great enthusiasm the Estonians went against their historic enemy and, after raging battles, they drove the enemy back to the south to Riga.

[527] In commemoration of the victory over the Landeswehr and other victories, June 23rd, was celebrated during the Estonian independence period as Victory Day.

175 728 The war with the Red Army continued outside of Estonian territory until Soviet Russia made

175 728 a peace proposal on August 30, 1919. Peace negotiations began the following December at Tartu, with Jaan Poska as leader of the Estonian delegation. During the negotiations the Red Army made desperate but unsuccessful attempts to cut through the front at Narva. In the treaty of Tartu, signed on February 2, 1920, Soviet Russia recognized the Republic of Estonia, renounced all rights to Estonian territory, and paid 15,000 gold rubles to the Estonian Republic.

727 In spite of the ecnonomic assistance from Great Britain and the United States, including war supplies and the help of the British fleet, as well as the help from the Finnish "Sons of the North," Estonia had suffered greatly from her war.[1] Five thousand men had been killed, 12,000 wounded, and an estimated total of

1[War of Liberation, sec-43-cat 116, pp 40-43.. Analyst]

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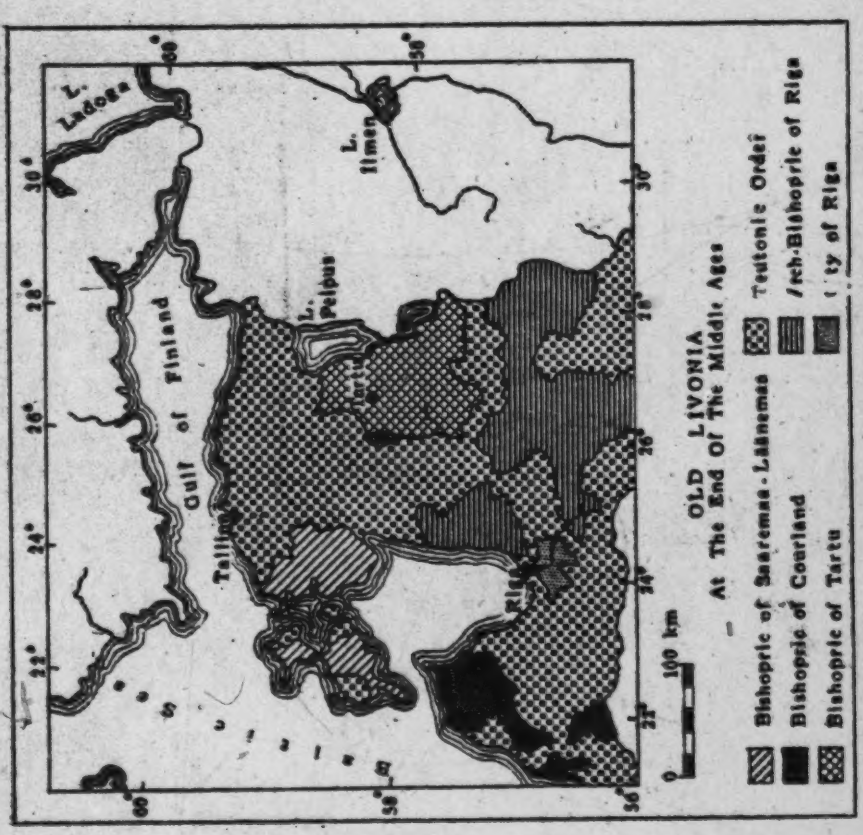

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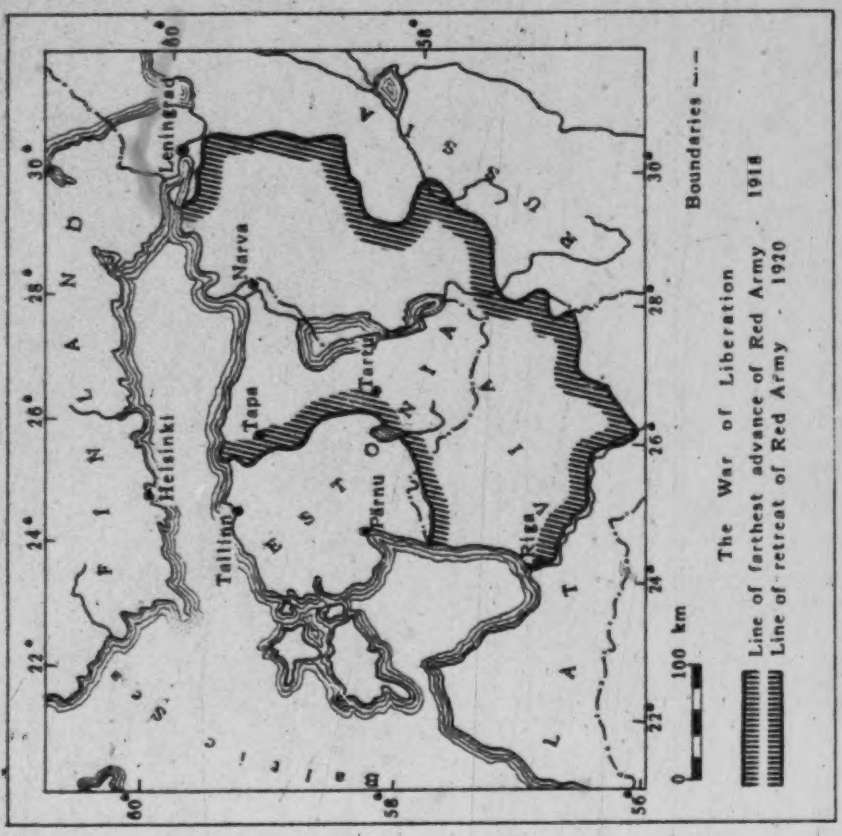

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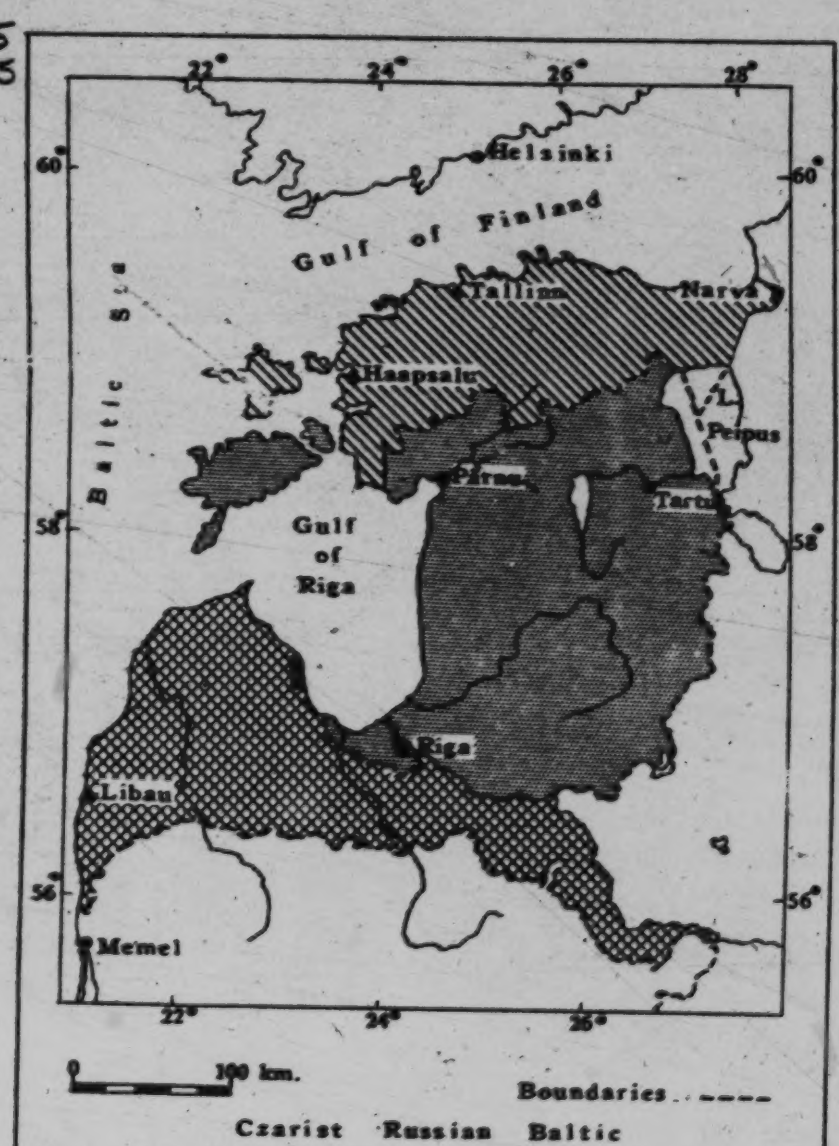

101 and Peipus Lake. There this relatively
174 homogeneous group disintegrated and various nationalities started to migrate to their present areas. This occurred probably in the first centuries A.D.

The Votes, following the Finns, moved toward the north and settled the area which is now known under the name of Ingermanland. In ancient times the Votes were a powerful nation. They probably belonged to those Balto-Finnic tribes, which, according to Nestor's chronicle, participated under the name of chud' in the foundation of the Russian state in 862 A.D.
● 175 The first explicit information on the Votes originates from the time of the Grand Prince Jaroslav (died in 1054); in one of his statutes the Votic (votshkaia) region is mentioned as belonging to the Novgorod possessions. The belonging to Novgorod was at that time, however, only a pious wish of Novgorod. This appears clearly from the fact that the Votes helped the Polotsk prince Vseslav when he, with his armies, in 1069 lay siege to Novgorod. Vseslav suffered a defeat, and, according to the chronicler, "this was a great loss to the Votes, for great masses of them fell." When Novgorod in the twelfth century became stronger, the Votes more and more came under its sphere of influence. In cases of need the Votes applied to the Novgorodians also for help. This happened, for instance, in 1149 when a thousand Finns from Häme undertook a military expedition to the Votic area. Then the Votes, helped by 500 Novgorodians, hewed down the Finns to the very last man.

It was not just the wars but also the

175 famine which exterminated the Votes. In 1215 there was a complete crop failure, due to which many people died of hunger or moved elsewhere. The people were forced to eat fir bark, linden leaves and moss. There were so many dead on the market places, in the yards and fields, that--as the chronicler reports--"dogs were unable to eat all of them."

At the same time, Papal Rome began to direct its attention to the heathens of the Votic land (pagani watlandie). In the thirteenth century Pope Gregorius IX forbade all the Christians to send weapons and iron to the Votes so that they could preserve their Christian faith in the countries around Sweden. In 1255 "the heathens of the Votic land, of Ingermanland and Karelia" got their own bishop, after Pope Alexander IV had been informed that they were eager to be converted to Christianity. The chronicles do not tell to what extent the Roman Catholic Church succeeded in christening the Votes. At any rate, their Christendom remained for centuries only an external manifestation.

The geographic position of the Votes was a most unlucky one. Situated between strong and bellicose powers, such as the Russians, the Swedes, and the Germans, their land was often the theater of devastating wars. The Votes themselves call their land kyvassi syittu maa 'the land which has been stamped hard by wars.'

In 1240 the German knights together with the Estonians attacked the Votes and founded the Kaprio (Russian Kopor'ye) fortress as their base, which, however, was retaken by the Novgorod Prince Alexander Nevski in 1242.

● 175 Although the German knights continued to lay claims to the Votic land, it remained under Novgorod power until the end of the fifteenth century. As subjects of Novgorod, the Votes had to participate in the numerous wars Novgorod had to wage. Most noteworthy among them was the warfare made by the German knight von Overberg in the Votic land and Ingermanland in 1444-1447. At that time a group of Votes were taken as prisoners of war to Kurland (nowadays part of Latvia), to the neighborhood of the Aa River near the town of Bauske. The Latvians used to call these Votes [101] Krevins, due to the fact that they were brought from Russia (in Latvian kreews means 'Russian'). The Krevins were Latvianized in the middle of the nineteenth century; only a few texts of their language were written down and have been preserved.

After Moscow subdued Novgorod in 1478 and took its possessions, an extensive administrative unit to the northwest of Novgorod city, between the rivers Volkhov and Luga, was given the name "Votic Fifth" (Votskaia piatina). At one time it even comprised a part of Finnish Karelia as far as to the north of Pielisjärvi. The term "Votic Fifth" indicates that at that time the Votes were of much greater significance as a nation than they are nowadays. In the sixteenth century the term "Votic oblast" (Votskaia oblast') was introduced which signified, first of all, the western part of the later Petersburg government; the area to the east of it was called "the Izhor land" (Izhorskaia zemlia).

The subjugation of Novgorod by the Muscovites did not much affect the condition of the Votes, except that their masters were

175 changed. Novgorod squires were replaced by Muscovian noblemen. Ivan the Third, Grand Prince of Muscovy, dispersed the most notable Novgorod noblemen, merchants and other burghers by the thousands into various parts of Russia and brought the Muscovites in to replace them.

In the sixteenth century the Russian Church began to take a lively interest in the conversion of the Votes. In 1534 the Novgorod Archbishop Makarii complained to the Grand Prince of Moscow that the inhabitants of the "Votic Fifth" as well as of some western and northern areas lived in dark heathenism, "worshipping in their sacrificial places the forests, stones, rivers, bogs, springs, mountains, hills, the sun, stars and lakes, and offering to evil spirits secret blood sacrifices of children, throwing into the flames the holy images of saints and seeking in every way to propitiate the devel." Then Makarii, on the order of the Grand Prince, sent there the monk Ilja to root out the idolatry and to baptize these heathens.

The year 1617 was an important turning point in the history of the Votes: then, according to the Stolbova peace treaty, the whole of Ingermanland came under Swedish rule which lasted for a century. The economic as well as the educational situation of the peoples of Ingermanland, the Votes included, improved considerably. However, when Gustavus Adolphus began to convert them forcibly to Protestantism, many of the Votes and other nationalities left for Russia where they later became Russified. The desolate areas in Ingermanland were settled by Finns who were brought there from eastern Finland. Thus, the national

● 175 composition of Ingermanland was changed completely during this period.

When Ingermanland after the great Northern War in 1721 was incorporated into Russia, more peaceful times began for the Votes. But by then the century-long wars, epidemics, famines and long servitude had greatly undermined their vital power. The following years in close proximity to the Russians, mixed marriages, and Russification policy of czarist Russia, and finally the miseries of the first and second world wars and of the Bolshevist rule still further decreased their number. When the author of this report visited the Votes in 1943, only poor remnants of this once notable people had remained. In 1944 there were rumors in Estonia that the Germans, when they retreated from Ingermanland, had put all the Votes into a train and sent them somewhere toward the south. It has been impossible, however, to prove the validity of these rumors.

161 visited the Votes before and during the first World War (1913-15), estimates their population to be around 1000. The same is also Prof. Setälä's estimation. The Russian census in 1926 lists only 705 Votes. Lensu, who collected linguistic and folkloristic material among the Votes in 1927-28, estimates their number to be a little more than 500.

177 There is no doubt that the great decrease in the Votes is due to their assimilation with other nationalities of Ingermanland, namely with Russians, Ingrians and Finns. The Finns who live in several Votic villages have constituted the least danger for the Votes' denationalization, mainly due to their religion. Being of a different religion (the Finns are Lutherans and the Votes Greek Orthodox), the inter-marriages as well as any close association between them were, especially in former times, rare. The nearness of the Russians and Ingrians, who are both of the same religion as the Votes, has, however, been fatal to the Votes.

● [175] The first considerable Russian settlement in the "Votic Fifth" arose at the end of the fifteenth century. This colonization policy was continued until the Swedish conquest in 1617, when it ceased for a century. During the time of Peter the Great and his successors it was taken up again and pursued even more vigorously than before. The result of this policy was the creation of Votic-Russian mixed villages everywhere in the Votic area, except in the westernmost part. Since the number of Russians constantly increased in these villages, the Votes began to speak Russian, to take over Russian customs, habits

101 name "Kaivans" (kaivany) has also been used by the Russians. The Karelians in Olonets call the Vepsian language the language of "Naku" (nakun kieli), a name which comes from the Vepsian word naku 'over there', or sometimes "Shokshu language" (Shokshun kieli), after the northernmost Vepsian village.

•175 [197] History. Vepsians are linguistically closely related to the Karelians, Finns, Estonians and Livonians. The languages of all of these nationalities form the so-called Balto-Finnic group, which is a subgroup of the Finno-Ugric family of languages. The original home of the Finno-Ugric peoples is considered to have been somewhere along the middle course of the Volga River. In the course of time, the forefathers of the Balto-Finns have moved westward. In the last centuries of the pre-Christian era they were in contact with the Baltic peoples (that is with the forefathers of the Latvians, Lithuanians and Old Prussians), and later with the Germanic peoples, as the loan words indicate. During these Germanic Balto-Finnic relations the Balto-Finns must have been to the east of the Gulf of Finland and Peipus Lake. There this relatively homogeneous group disintegrated and various nationalities started to migrate to their present areas. This occurred in the first centuries A. D.

It is probable that the Vepsians moved northeast to their present dwelling places.

175 After reaching the mouth of the Qjat River, they seem to have spread eastwards, mostly following the banks of that river, and establishing there the town of White Lake (Russian: Bieloe ozero). The Vepsians are probably mentioned for the first time in the history of the Goths by Jordanes under the name vasina-broncas; this tribe is said to have belonged under the rule of the Gothic king Ermanaric in the fourth century A. D. Related to this name is Visinnus, a hero mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus. Scholars believe that in both of these names the name of a people is concealed which Adam of Bremen calls wizzi and which in the Arabian sources of the ninth century occurs in the form of visu. The visu-people lived a three-months journey from Great Bolgar and were engaged in the trade which the Bolgarians conducted along the Volga between the countries south and northwest of Europe. The main commercial goods of the visu-people were beaver, sable and squirrel hides. These same people are further referred to in Russian chronicles under the name of ves'. All the names mentioned above (vasina-broncas, Visinnus, wizzi, visu, ves') are considered to be identical with the present-day name of the Vepsians, vepsä. Considering, however, the present limited distribution of the name vepsa among the Vepsians, the older names may not have signified all of the Vepsians, but just the southern group of them.

According to the Old-Russian chronicler Nestor, the ves' were situated in the district of White Lake and they took part in the

•175 foundation of the Russian Empire in the ninth century A.D. They were further mentioned among the peoples who paid tribute to Rurik. Sineus, a Varangian chieftain, settled in White Lake, but died soon afterward. Then this town went to one of the chieftains of Rurik. Nestor mentions that in White Lake the ves' formerly lived but later the Varangians settled there. Apparently White Lake had an important significance from the point of view of commerce and strategy.

Ves' is mentioned for the last time in 882, as a participant in the warfare undertaken by the guardian of Igor, Rurik's son. After that this name disappears from the Russian sources; instead of it the chronicles talk of the "inhabitants of White Lake." The latter is no doubt a geographical term which included also the Russians who more and more migrated to these areas.

With the Russians came also Christianity to the White Lake area. Several monasteries were founded there, the first of them in the twelfth century. Some time after 1238 the region around White Lake formed an independent principality, which in 1485 was incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Moscow. In 1340 Novgorod attacked the White Lake area and in 1364 occurred a plague of such severity that, according to a chronicler, "there was not a single person in White Lake, and there was great grief in the country; the land became empty and wooded, and there were unpassable wildernesses."

175 It was probably the wars, epidemics and the Russian oppression that caused the Vepsians to leave the White Lake region and move further westward. When the White Lake principality was incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Moscow in 1485, there were hardly any Vepsians left there.

648 175 The further history of the Vepsians cannot be separated from that of Russia. They have been up to the present day under continuous Russian rule and have gone through all the hard times of the czarist rule and the upheavals and miseries of Bolshevism. The only exception are the North or Onega Vepsians who, during the second World War, were for a short time (1941-1944) occupied by the Finns. When the Finns retreated, many Vepsians fled with them to Finland.

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4: Indiana U. S-4,5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4
Livonians

Annex "A," Subparagraph 1b,
Sociological Background

HISTORICAL SETTING

101 The Livonians have no common name for themselves. To the west they call themselves raandalist 'coast people,' and to the east, kalamied 'fishermen.' Only after the first World War they started to use the name liiv, liivli 'Livonians.'[1] The latter name has, however, been used for centuries by their neighbors for designating the Livonians. The Russians call the Livonians livy, the Germans, Liven, and the Latvians, lihbeeshi.

101 Livonians are closely related to the
197 Estonians, Votes, Finns, Karelians and Vepsians. The language of all of these nationalities form the so-called Balto-Finnic group, which is a subgroup of the Finno-Ugric family
175 of languages. The original home of the Finno-Ugric peoples is considered to have been somewhere along the middle course of the Volga River. In the course of time, the forefathers of the Balto-Finns have moved westward. In

1 Some scholars think that the name liiv, etc., is connected with the word Estonian liiv, Finnish liiva 'sand'; others connect it with the name lüd 'Ludes' (Karelian-Vepsian mixed people), which in Karelian-Olonetsian occurs in the form livviköi.

175 the last centuries of the pre-Christian era they were in contact with the Baltic peoples (that is with the ancestors of the Latvians, Lithuanians and Old Prussians), and later with the Germanic peoples, as the loan-words indicate. During these Germanic Balto-Finnic relations the Balto-Finns must have been to the east of the Gulf of Finland and Peipus Lake. There this relatively homogeneous group disintegrated and various nationalities started to migrate to their present areas. This occurred probably inthe first centuries A. D.

The Livonians arrived at the Baltic Sea by following the Dvina River. There they gradually spread along both sides of the mouth of this river along the seacoast, settling especially around the mouths of the rivers. The aborigines of these areas, the Latvians, were compelled to move inland. The Livonians are not mentioned in historic times at the south of the Dvina River, except for the regions around the river mouths. Probably the resistance there on the part of the Latvians was quite strong.

The Livonians' choice for their new home was fatal. It promised them cultural development and economic prosperity but, at the same time, a great danger from the neighboring peoples. They were soon put to the test, and their history tells us of constant wars.

The Swedish king Ivar Vidfamne is said to have conquered Kurland, Estonia and all

175 the eastern countries as far as Russia in the seventh century. The Livonians, allied with the Kurs, made in their turn expeditions by sea to foreign shores for military purposes.

Like several other Finno-Ugric peoples, the Livonians are mentioned (under the names liv', lib' and liub) in Nestor's Old Russian Chronicle. But they did not belong to the founders of the Russian Empire. As the trade between West and East proceeded via the Baltic Sea and the Dvina and Dnieper Rivers to the countries on the Caspian and Black Seas, it is natural that the Livonians became involved in it.

The Livonians had close association with the Duchy of Polotsk which arose along the Dvina River at the end of the tenth century. In the constant feuds between Polotsk and Novgorod, the Livonians with their kindred peoples took the side of the Polotsk and had to pay tribute.

Since the middle of the twelfth century the center of gravity in Livonian history has moved from east to west. In 1159 the merchants from Bremen "found" the Livonians' port at the mouth of the Dvina River. After a little skirmish the German merchants made business connections with the Livonians. The merchants were followed by missionaries. The Pope named the Augustinian monk Meinhard first bishop of Livland. With the permission of the

175 prince of Polotsk, he began his missionary activity there at the latest in 1184. The Livonians, however, soon grew tired of the Germans. Only a few of them were then converted to Christianity, and even these people soon gave up the new religion.

The successor of Bishop Meinhard, Berthold, arrived with a group of crusaders but was soon killed in a fight. This fight, however, ended unhappily for the Livonians, and they had to surrender to the Germans and be baptized.

The third bishop, Albert, who arrived in 1200 with his troops, was a clever and energetic man who laid a firm foundation for Christianity in the Baltic countries. Albert demanded twenty sons of the Livonian chiefs as hostages and took them to Germany. Among them was a Livonian chief (called also "king") Kaupo, who later made a trip to the Pope in Rome and was hated by the Livonians as a traitor. In 1201 Bishop Albert founded the City of Riga. A year later he established a military order of knights, known as the "Order of the Brethren of the Sword." The Russians unwillingly watched all this happen, for the strengthening of German power at the Baltic threatened to close the Russian trade route. For this reason constant skirmishes occurred between the two peoples. Conscious of the conflicts between the Germans and the Russians, the Livonians tried to induce the latter to drive the Germans

175 out of the country. The Russians, however, were of no use in this respect, so the Livonians had to rely on their own strength. In 1206 the Livonians, assisted by the Latvians, conquered the Holm fortress and lay siege to Riga. In the ensuing fight on Holm Island, the Christians were victorious. The Livonians' leader, Ako, fell and his head was sent to Riga to Bishop Albert as a symbol of the victory.

After the Livonians' resistance was broken at the lower course of the Dvina River, Bishop Albert in 1206 directed his blow against the Livonians of Toreida county to the north. The former Livonian chief, Kaupo, in charge of the German army, and assisted by 3000 Semgallians (a Latvian tribe), conquered Toreida, his own former fort, but was unable to take the fort of the brave Livonian chief Dabrel. In the same year the Livonians attempted to crush the Germans completely, but without success. Then they finally had to submit, and they began to accept more and more Christian baptism along with German rule. After this they and the Latvians helped the Germans to subjugate the Estonians. This campaign, however, required twenty years of hard warfare.

The rule of the Livonian Order, a time of oppression and slavery for the Livonians as well as for other peoples of the Baltic countries, lasted until 1561. When the Livonian

175 Order was liquidated, the Livonians in the south and in the north became administratively separated from each other. The Livonians who lived in Kurland came in 1562 under the rule of Duke Gottfried Kettler (the last Master of the Order) and his heirs, since Kurland was established as a Duchy under Polish supremacy. The golden era of the Duchy was the period of the rule of Kettler's grandson, Duke James I, when Kurland had a strong fleet and even possessed colonies in Africa and North America. In 1795 the Duchy was annexed to Russia. The Livonians in the so-called Livland, which comprised the area to the north of the Dvina River as far as central Estonia, came in 1561, together with the whole of Livland, under the domination of Poland. In the 1620's Gustavus II Adolphus conquered Livland for Sweden. In 1710 Livland came under Russian rule. Thus in the eighteenth century the Livonians both in Livland and Kurland became Russian subjects.

The Livonians have not been able to withstand the century-long fights in these areas and the constant pressure of Latvianization. The Livonians in Livland were completely Latvianized in the middle of the nineteenth century. Of the Livonians in Kurland, a small group of ca. 3000 was extant at the beginning of the twentieth century. But the World Wars dealt them fatal blows. In 1915, all the Livonians left their homes, part of them as refugees, and the remainder later on the order

4: Indiana U. S-4, 5 1955 RG4 Estonia RG4 Livonians

175 of the Germans, and moved to the Latvian inland areas, to Estonia and to Russia. After the end of the war, only part of them (ca. 1500) returned.

182 From 1918 to 1940 the Livonians lived under the Latvian rule in the Republic of Latvia. In the 1920's a strong revival was noticeable among them instigated by the Estonians and Finns, but this was constantly held back by the Latvianization policies of the Latvians. In 1940-44 the Livonians lived through the hardships of the Second World War and were compelled to leave their homes again. Since 1944 the remnants of them have belonged, like the whole of Latvia, to the Soviet Union.

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11: Scheffer O-4, 5 (ca. 1660) 1704
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It is but ſmall, but very ſtrong, being Fortified after the Modern way, though its chief Strength conſiſts in the Caſtle, which is built upon a Rock. It was built in the Year 1230, by *Waldmar* II. King of *Denmark*, but in 1347 ſold by King *Waldmar* III. to *Goſwin d' Eck*, the then Maſter of the *Livonian* Order of Knights. After the *Muſcovites* had conſiderably encreaſed their Empire by the Conqueſts of the Kingdoms of *Caſan* and *Aſtracan*, and the great Dukedom of *Novagorod Veliki*, they left no Stone unturn'd to extend their Conqueſts on that ſide to the *Baltick*, by making themſelves Maſters of *Livionia*: The City of *Reval* finding themſelves moſt expoſed to their Fury, ſubmitted themſelves 1561 to the Protection of the *Swedes*, and in the Year 1570, and 1577, held out two memorable Sieges againſt the *Muſcovites*, with prodigious loſs on their ſide; ſince which time, purſuant to the ſeveral Treaties of Peace made betwixt the *Swedes* and *Muſcovites* 1591, 1607 and 1617, it has remained in the Poſſeſſion of the firſt. Its Harbour is very convenient, eſpecially for the *Muſcovite* Trade, which made its Traffick very flouriſhing, from the Year 1477 till 1550, whilſt it was under the Juriſdiction of the *Livonian* Knights; it being one of the moſt antient Towns of the *Hanſeatick* Confederacy, and having in concert with the City of *Lubeck*, the direction of the *Northern* College belonging to the *Hanſeatick* Towns, in the once ſo famous City of *Novagorod Veliki*; but their falling off from the ſaid *Hanſeatick* League, at a time when the *Muſcovites* ſoon after became Maſters of *Narva*, and planted the *Muſcovite* Trade there, did much abate their Trade. Add to this, that the Government of the City being near the Democratical, their Magiſtrates being not allowed to tranſact any thing of Moment without the Approbation of the Leading Men of the City, and ſometimes not without the Conſent of all the Free-men in general, the *Swediſh* Kings looking upon this as dangerous to their Government, have found means to diminiſh many of their Priviledges granted them in former times by the *Livonian* Knights. It was antiently a Biſhops See, but ſince *Lutheraniſm* has been Introduced, the Eccleſiaſtical Government is Adminiſtred by a Conſiſtory and Superintendant. Here is alſo a Gymnaſium provided with

ſeveral

11: Scheffer O-4, 5 (ca. 1660) 1704

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ſeveral Profeſſors, who Read and Teach the Liberal Sciences. Not far from this City, about half a League from the Sea-ſhore, is to be ſeen the Ruins of a once ſtately Monaſtery, Founded about the beginning of the XV. Century, by a rich Merchant of this City, and Dedicated to St. *Bridget*: It conſiſted both of Men and Women, and the Book which contains the Foundation of it acquaints the Reader, that already in thoſe Days the Fryars and Nuns were ſo ingenious as to entertain a ſecret Commerce by certain Signs of which there is a kind of ſmall Dictionary affixed at the end.

The Fort *Badn*, belonging to this Diſtrict, lies upon the River *Aſſa*.

The Diſtrict of *Jerve*, being an Inland Country, contains the Caſtle of *Witten* or *Weiſſenſtein*, *Upperpalen* and *Leu*, places of pretty good ſtrength.

Neither has the Diſtrict of *Wicke* more than four places of any Note, *viz*. *Hapſal*, near the Bay of *Bothnia*, once in the Poſſeſſion of the *Danes*, under their King *Frederick* II. but was taken by the *Muſcovites* 1575 and in ſix Years after recovered by the *Swedes*; *Lode*, *Leal* and *Wicke*.

II. The Province of *Odepoa* borders to the *Eaſt* upon the Lake *Piput*, to the *North* on the Rivers *Fela*, *Pernaw* and *Embec*; to the *Weſt*, on the Bay of *Livonia*, and on the *South* it is bounded by the Province of *Lettie*. Its chief City is *Deopt* or *Torpat*; by the *Muſcovites* call'd *Jurigorod*, being ſeated betwixt the two Lakes *Worzero* and *Paput*, upon the River *Embec*, a pretty large City, the Remnants of its antient Stone Buildings and Walls, being ſufficient Teſtimonies, that this place was none of the leaſt conſiderable in thoſe Parts, it having been formerly alſo a Biſhops See. It was in the Poſſeſſion of the *Muſcovites* till 1230, when the Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order conquered it by the Sword. In the Year 1558, that famous *Ruſſian* Tyrant *Ivan Baſiterits*, advanced againſt this City with a formidable Army, which ſtruck ſuch Terror into the Inhabitants, that they ſurrendred immediately; but the Year 1571 proved fatal to them; for a certain *Livonian* Gentleman, call'd *Reinold Roſe*, having laid a deſign to deliver the City from the *Muſcovite* Slavery, by putting it into the Hands of *Magnus*, the then Duke of *Holſtein*; and the

Plot

11: Scheffer O-4,5 (ca. 1660) 1704
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Plot being diſcovered before it could be put in Execution, the *Muſcovites* took a fatal Revenge upon the Inhabitants, without the leaſt diſtinction of either Age or Sex. About ten Years after, *viz.* 1582, by Vertue of a Treaty of Peace made betwixt the ſaid *Ivan Baſilovits*, and *Stephen Bathor*, King of *Poland*, it was ſurrendred to the laſt, with the remaining part of *Livonia*. Not long after the *Swediſh* Duke *Charles* of *Ludermanland* took from the *Poles*, and theſe again recovered it from the *Swedes* 1603, till in the Year 1625, *James de la Gardie*, the *Swediſh* General, took all again from the *Poles*, ſince which time it has remained conſtantly in the Poſſeſſion of the *Swedes*, whichw as confirm'd to them firſt by Vertue of the Truce made betwixt the two Crowns 1635, and afterwards by the Peace of *Oliva*. King *Guſtave Adolph* Founded an Univerſity there 1632; but it is frequented only by a few *Finlanders*, the *Livonian* Gentlemen rather chuſing to ſend their Sons to Forreign Univerſities, eſpecially in *Germany* and *Holland*.

Next to this is the City of *Warbeck*, near the Mouth of the River *Embec*: The Fort of *Ringer*, *Kauneleks*, *Odepea*, a ſmall Town noted for nothing elſe, but that it has communicated its Name to the whole Diſtrict: The two ſtrong Forts of *Niewenhuſen* and *Marienburgh*, the firſt on the Borders of *Muſcovy*, the laſt upon the Lake *Pipus*. *Tarneſt* was a goodly Town whilſt in the Hands of the *Muſcovites*; but being taken from them by the *Poles*, they quite demoliſhed it, when they were forced to quit it to the *Swedes*. *Fellin* and *Lemſal* are alſo Places of no great Conſequence; but *Parnaw*, as it was formerly a Member of the *Hanſeatick* League, ſo it was very flouriſhing in Trade, which is however much decayed of late, unleſs it be in Wheat, of which they Tranſport a conſiderable quantity every Year. It is not very large, but pretty compact, built of Wood, after the *Muſcovite* faſhion; it is ſituate upon the River *Parnaw*, (from whence it has got its Name) which riſes out of *Weiſſenſtein* upon the ſmall River *Beca*, and being in its Paſſage increaſed by the two Rivers *Fela* and *Perukcia*, diſembogues in the *Baltick*, not far below this City. The *Poles* were the firſt who Conquered it from the *Muſcovites*, but *Eric* XIV. King of *Sweden*, Conquered it 1562. Three Years after the *Poles* regain'd

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11: Scheffer O-4, 5 (ca. 1660) 1704
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it by a Stratagem, and ten Years after the *Muſcovites* recovered it from them, who remain'd in Poſſeſſion of it till, by Vertue of the beforementioned Treaty 1582, it was ſurrendred again to the *Poles*, from whom it was retaken by the *Swedes* 1617, and ever ſince kept by them, purſuant to the enſuing Treaties.

III. The Province of *Lettie* is encloſed on the *Weſt* ſide by the Bay of *Livonia*, and to the *South* by the River *Dwina*; on the *North* it is bounded by the Province *Odepea*. and on the *Eaſt* it borders upon *Muſcovy*. Its Capital City is *Riga*, formerly an Archbiſhops See, ſituate under 57. 30. *Min. Lat.* upon the famous River *Dwina*, which being near this place about a Mile broad, and running through a ſpacious Vally, exonerates it ſelf about twelve Miles below it, into the *Baltick*. It is on the Land ſide defended by ſix regular Baſtions of Brick Work, and as many half Moons and Counterſcaps, lined with ſtrong Palliſadoes. Its Buildings were formerly of Wood, after the *Muſcovite* faſhion, but about Twenty five Years ago, the whole City was rebuilt of Stone, and the Streets made more Regular, by expreſs Orders from the late King of *Sweden*. It is a very Populous City, by reaſon of the great Concourſe of trading People from *Germany*, *England* and *Holland*, that flock thither on the account of Commerce, which conſiſts chiefly in Hemp, Flax, Wax, Pitch, Tar, Planks and Wood for Building, Skins of Bares, Elks, Foxes, and Furs of Sables, Martins, Ermins, and ſuch like, brought thither in the Winter out of *Poland* and *Muſcovy*, in Sledges. They profeſs here, as all over *Livonia*, the *Lutheran* Religion, with excluſion of all others. Its Origne is very doubtful, ſome making *Albert* the third Biſhop of *Livonia* 1196, others one *Berteld*, a *White Fryer*, Abbot of *Locken*, in the Country of *Showenburgh*, in the Dioceſs of *Winden*, its Founder 1189, who, as they ſay, made it alſo a Biſhops See. Thus much is certain, that in the Year 1215 it was raiſed to the Dignity of an Archbiſhoprick, and made the Seat of the Matropolitan of *Livonia* and *Pruſſia*, which occaſioned no ſmall differences betwixt theſe Archbiſhops and the *Livonian* Knights, as alſo with thoſe of the Order of *Pruſſia*, concerning certain Prerogatives, which were not ended till within the Reformation. About the Year 1501,

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